

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03 INR-11 IO-14 L-03

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SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0322

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0173

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: ALLIED PRESENTATION
FOR 17 JULY PLENARY

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AT THE JULY 17 PLENARY MEETING
OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, STATEMENTS WERE DELIVERED
BY THE U.S. REP, THE SOVIET REP (KHLESTOV), AND
THE HUNGARIAN REP (PETRAN). TEXT OF THE SOVIET
AND HUNGARIAN STATEMENTS ARE BEING TRANSMITTED BY
SEPTELS. THE TEST OF THE U.S. STATEMENT AS APPROVED
BY AHG JULY 16, READS AS FOLLOWS. END SUMMARY

BEGIN TEXT:
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2. MR. CHAIRMAN: TODAY, AT THE FINAL PLENARY MEETING OF THIS ROUND OF THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS, IT SEEMS APPROPRIATE TO TAKE STOCK OF WHERE WE ARE NOW AND WHAT LIES AHEAD OF US WHEN WE RECONVENE IN SEPTEMBER.

3. THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE RECENT MEETING OF NATO MINISTERS IN OTTAWA HAS EXPRESSED THE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS' DETERMINATION TO PERSIST IN THEIR EFFORTS TO BRING THESE NEGOTIATIONS TO A SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION. DESPITE THE INTENSIVE DISCUSSION THE PARTICIPANTS HAVE HAD DURING THE CURRENT ROUND, NO AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON SUBSTANCE HAS YET BEEN ACHIEVED IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. WHEN THE NEGOTIATIONS RESUME IN MID-SEPTEMBER, THEY WILL HAVE BEEN UNDER WAY FOR NEARLY A YEAR. IN THE LIGHT OF THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT IS HIGH TIME FOR PARTICIPANTS TO BEGIN MAKING CONCRETE PROGRESS.

4. IN OUR VIEW, A GOOD BASIS FOR PROGRESS HAS ALREADY BEEN LAID. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS WHICH GOVERNEMENTS SHOULD BE CONSIDERING DURING THE RECESS SO THAT PARTICIPANTS WILL BE IN A POSITION TO DEAL WITH THEM DURING THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. IN MY STATEMENT TODAY, I SHALL ADDRESS THESE QUESTIONS.

5. AT THE OUTSET OF THIS ROUND, IN HIS STATEMENT ON MAY 10, AMBASSADOR QUARLES SUGGESTED THAT, IN VIEW OF THE DIFFICULTY OF THE SUBJECT MATTER, PARTICIPANTS SHOULD BE SELECTIVE IN THEIR APPROACH TO THE SUBJECT MATTER. TO FACILITATE PROGRESS, THEY SHOULD IDENTIFY THOSE ASPECTS OF THE OVERALL PROBLEM MOST SUSCEPTIBLE TO EARLY SOLUTION AND SHOULD SEEK WAYS OF RESOLVING THESE PROBLEMS. IN DOING THIS, THEY WOULD FOLLOW A STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH, DEFINING KEY ISSUES IN A WAY THAT WILL MAKE THEM MANAGEABLE AND RESOLVING THEM ONE BY ONE, IN PROPER SEQUENCE.

6. HE THEN SUGGESTED THAT PARTICIPANTS BEGIN BY GIVING PRIORITY ATTENTION TO THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FIRST. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE ALSO INDICATED IN THEIR PLENARY STATEMENTS THAT IT WOULD BE PRODUCTIVE TO PURSUE THIS QUESTION.

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7. OVER THE PAST TWO MONTHS, THERE HAS BEEN MUCH DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE. THE RESPECTIVE VIEWPOINTS OF THE TWO SIDES HAVE BEEN FULLY EXPLORED.

8. LET ME REVIEW WHAT THE WESTERN POSITION ON THIS QUESTION IS.

9. THE WESTERN APPROACH TO THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES

SHOULD BE REDUCED FIRST IS THAT THE US AND USSR SHOULD REDUCE THEIR FORCES IN A FIRST PHASE. FURTHER REDUCTIONS, INCLUDING REDUCTIONS IN THE FORCES OF REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED AND IMPLEMENTED IN A SECOND PHASE.

10. THE EASTERN APPROACH TO THIS QUESTION IS THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET.

11. ALTHOUGH PARTICIPANTS HAVE NOT YET SUCCEEDED IN REACHING A COMMON POSITION ON THIS QUESTION, DISCUSSIONS ON IT HAVE BEEN USEFUL IN CLARIFYING THE DIFFICULTIES EACH SIDE HAS WITH THE APPROACH OF THE OTHER. MY COLLEAGUES AND I CONSIDER THAT PARTICIPANTS SHOULD PERSIST IN SEEKING TO RESOLVE THIS ISSUE. IT IS THE ISSUE WHICH CAN MOST EASILY BE DEALT WITH SEPARATELY FROM OTHER ISSUES ARISING OUT OF THE REST OF THE PROGRAMS OF BOTH SIDES. A SOLUTION OF IT WOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO REMAINING ASPECTS OF THE TWO PROGRAMS. FURTHER, THIS IS THE ISSUE WHICH IT IS MOST LOGICAL TO SOLVE AT THE OUTSET AND WHERE THE CHANCES OF ACHIEVING A TENTATIVE SOLUTION APPEAR BEST. PARTICIPANTS WOULD HAVE A FAR MORE PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSION OF FURTHER ISSUES IF THEY HAD ALREADY REACHED A TENTATIVE UNDERSTANDING ON THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET.

12. IN RESOLVING THIS ISSUE, PARTICIPANTS CLEARLY HAVE TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFICULTIES EACH SIDE HAS WITH RESPECT TO THE APPROACH OF THE OTHER. MY COLLEAGUES AND I HAVE FREQUENTLY EXPLAINED WHY THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US CANNOT REDUCE THEIR FORCES IN A FIRST PHASE. I NEED ONLY SUMMARIZE THE REASONS HERE.

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FROM US REP MBFR

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

13. IT IS UNDENIABLE THAT THE TWO WORLD POWERS, THE US AND THE USSR, ARE IN A FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT SITUATION FROM ALL THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS OWING TO THE SIZE AND SCOPE OF THEIR MILITARY POWER. THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS DO NOT HAVE THESE RESOURCES. THEIR POSITION IS DIFFERENT IN ANOTHER IMPORTANT RESPECT AS WELL. POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS WOULD AFFECT ONLY A PORTION OF THE FORCES OF THE US AND USSR. MOREOVER, REDUCTION OF THESE FORCES WOULD TAKE THE FORM OF WITHDRAWAL. THE SITUATION OF MOST OF THE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IS A FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT ONE: THEIR ENTIRE TERRITORIES LIE WITHIN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS AND WOULD BE AFFECTED BY THE TERMS OF AN AGREEMENT. IN OUR VIEW, THE APPROPRIATE AND ADEQUATE WAY TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THESE IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES
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IS TO AGREE THAT REDUCTIONS BY COUNTRIES IN THE SECOND GROUP SHOULD TAKE PLACE ONLY AS A RESULT OF A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS. REDUCTIONS IN THE FORCES OF OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS COULD THEN TAKE PLACE ON THE BASIS OF THE CONFIDENCE GIVN BY PRIOR SUBSTANTIAL US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS AND BY PRIOR ACCEPTANCE BY ALL PARTICIPANTS OF APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND FORCES AS THE OVERALL GOAL OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

14. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES, FOR THEIR PART, HAVE EXPRESSED CERTAIN CONCERNS REGARDING THIS APPROACH. THEY HAVE ASKED HOW THEY CAN BE SURE THAT PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS, AS ENVISAGED BY THE WEST, WILL IN FACT TAKE PLACE. THEY HAVE ASKED HOW, IF PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS DO TAKE PLACE, THERE CAN BE ANY ASSURANCE THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL HAVE A POSITIVE OUT-COME. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE ALSO ARGUED THAT, IF ONLY THE US REDUCES ON THE WESTERN SIDE IN PHASE I, THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE FREE TO INCREASE

THEIR FORCES, PENDING A PHASE II OUTCOME. FINALLY, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE FREQUENTLY ASSERTED THAT WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ARE UNWILLING TO UNDERTAKE ANY OBLIGATION TO REDUCE. THEY HAVE ARGUED THAT THIS ALLEGED UNWILLINGNESS IS IN CONTRADICTION TO COMMITMENTS SUPPOSEDLY IMPLICIT IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF JUNE 28, 1973.

15. IN THE LIGHT OF THE DIFFICULTIES AND CONCERNS WHICH EACH SIDE HAS WITH THE APPROACH OF THE OTHER, PARTICIPANTS HAVE BEEN SEEKING DURING THE CURRENT ROUND TO FIND MIDDLE GROUND ON THIS QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET. THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAVE SHOWN CONSIDERABLE FLEXIBILITY IN MEETING WHAT WE UNDERSTAND TO BE THE BASIC EASTERN CONCERN THAT, IF ONLY THE US AND USSR REDUCE IN A FIRST PHASE, THERE IS NO ASSURANCE THAT THE REMAINING WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL REDUCE IN A SECOND PHASE.

16. THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAVE TAKEN A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT STEPS WHICH WE BELIEVE FULLY MEET THIS CONCERN, AND PROVIDE THE MIDDLE GROUND ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES WILL BE REDUCED FIRST. THESE SUGGESTIONS WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF DEALING IN PHASE I WITH CERTAIN ISSUES
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REGARDING REDUCTIONS BY REMAINING WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WHICH -- UNDER OUR ORIGINAL CONCEPT -- WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ADDRESSED UNTIL PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS.

17. THUS, WE HAVE MADE THE FOLLOWING MOVES IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR PROPOSALS FOR A FIRST PHASE:

18. FIRST, IN OUR OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS WE MENTIONED A FIGURE OF APPROXIMATELY 700,000 AS AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE LEVEL FOR A COMMON CEILING ON OVERALL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER OF BOTH SIDES. WE HAVE STATED OUR READINESS TO AGREE IN A FIRST PHASE ON A SPECIFIC COMMON CEILING LEVEL WHICH WOULD REFLECT THE OVERALL DIMENSIONS OF GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS TO BE TAKEN IN BOTH PHASES.

19. SECOND, WE HAVE SAID THAT THE WESTERN CONTRIBUTION TO THE SECOND PHASE REDUCTIONS WOULD FOCUS ON THE GROUND FORCES OF NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

20. THIRD, WE HAVE SAID WE ARE READY TO WORK OUT WITH EASTERN PARTICIPANTS THE TIME FOR THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS.

21. FOURTH, WE ARE READY TO ENTER ON A MUTUAL COMMITMENT NOT TO INCREASE THE OVERALL LEVEL OF GROUND FORCE MAN-

POWER ON BOTH SIDES BETWEEN THE PHASES OF REDUCTIONS. THE DURATION OF THIS COMMITMENT WOULD BE LIMITED.

22. FIFTH, WE ARE READY TO WORK OUT A PROVISION IN A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT FOR REVIEW, WITHIN A PERIOD OF TIME TO BE SPECIFIED, OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A PHASE I AGREEMENT AND OF THE RESULTS OF PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS UP TO THAT PERIOD, A PERIOD WHICH WOULD REPRESENT WHAT BOTH SIDES CONSIDER A REASONABLE DURATION FOR A SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATION.

23. AS A FINAL STEP TOWARDS REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET, WE HAVE RECENTLY MADE ANOTHER IMPORTANT SUGGESTION REGARDING REDUCTIONS BY WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OTHER THAN THE US. WE BELIEVE THAT THE ADDITION OF THIS FINAL STEP PROVIDES A FULLY ADEQUATE MIDDLE GROUND ANSWER TO THE CONCERNS

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EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE EXPRESSED ABOUT REDUCTIONS BY THE REMAINING WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. IT SHOULD CLEAR THE WAY TO AN UNDERSTANDING ON THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET.

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

24. CONSEQUENTLY, THE WESTERN POSITION IS NOW AS FOLLOWS:
THE US CONTINUES READY TO REDUCE IN A FIRST PHASE. THE
OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS MAINTAIN THEIR POSITION
NOT TO REDUCE THEIR FORCES IN A FIRST PHASE. HOWEVER, THEY
ARE READY TO UNDERTAKE SIGNIFICANT OBLIGATIONS REGARDING
THEIR FORCES IN THE CONTEXT OF A SATISFACTORY FIRST PHASE
AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD INCLUDE AGREEMENT ON THE COMMON CEILING
CONCEPT.

25. WE CONSIDER THAT THE MOVES WE HAVE TAKEN PROVIDE FULLY
ADEQUATE ASSURANCE THAT REDUCTIONS BY REMAINING WESTERN
DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL, IN FACT, TAKE PLACE IN THE
SECOND PHASE. IN MAKING THESE MOVES, WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED
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OUR FLEXIBILITY AND OUR WILLINGNESS TO TAKE ADEQUATE ACCOUNT
OF THE CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY EASTERN PARTICIPANTS.

26. WE HOPE THAT, IN CONSIDERING THESE MOVES DURING THE
SUMMER RECESS, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WILL APPRECIATE
THEIR IMPORTANCE AND -- UPON REFLECTION -- WILL AGREE THAT
THEY DO REPRESENT ACHIEVEMENT OF THE MIDDLE GROUND ON THE
QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES WILL BE REDUCED FIRST. WE HOPE
THAT PARTICIPANTS WILL BE IN A POSITION, WHEN WE RECONVENE
IN SEPTEMBER, TO AGREE ON THIS BASIS ON A TENTATIVE RESO-
LUTION OF THIS QUESTION.

27. SUCH A RESOLUTION, AS I HAVE SUGGESTED, WOULD ALLOW
PARTICIPANTS TO MOVE ON TO CONSIDER OTHER KEY ISSUES WHICH
WILL NEED TO BE RESOLVED IN CONNECTION WITH AN INITIAL RE-
DUCTION AGREEMENT.

28. ONE SUCH ISSUE IS THE QUESTION OF THE REDUCTIONS TO BE
AGREED. HERE, MY COLLEAGUES AND I CONSIDER THAT IT WILL BE
IMPORTANT FOR PARTICIPANTS TO REACH A COMMON DEFINITION OF
GROUND FORCES FOR THE PURPOSE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

29. WE HAVE ALREADY SUGGESTED THAT THE MOST LOGICAL WAY OF DEFINING GROUND FORCES IS TO IDENTIFY THEM ACCORDING TO THE UNIFORM THEY WEAR. NONETHELESS, WE RECONGNIZE THAT, OWING TO DIFFERING NATIONAL METHODS OF ORGANIZING ARMED FORCES, TO DEFINE GROUND FORCES BY USING THE CRITERION OF UNIFORM DOES RESULT IN SOME INCONSISTENCIES, MAINLY IN THE AREA OF AIR DEFENSE. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE DRAWN ATTENTION TO THEM. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE CRITERION OF UNIFORM IS THE RIGHT WAY TO DEFINE GROUND FORCES. BUT IN THE INTERESTS OF REACHING A COMMON DEFINITION, WE ARE WILLING TO DEAL WITH SOME OF THE INCONSISTENCIES OF ORGANIZATION WHICH THE EAST HAS MENTIONED. WE EXPECT TO DISCUSS THIS QUESTION EARLY IN THE NEXT NEGOTIATING ROUND.

30. THE ISSUE OF REDUCTIONS TO BE AGREED INCLUDES THE QUESTION OF THE SIZE OF REDUCTIONS. MUCH OF THE GROUND WORK FOR EVENTUAL DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE HAS ALREADY BEEN LAID. WE HAVE MADE CLEAR THAT PHASE I REDUCTIONS MUST CONSTITUTE A SUBSTANTIAL STEP TOWARD A COMMON

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CEILING IN OVERALL GROUND FORCE MANPOWER ON EACH SIDE IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT COMBAT CAPABILITY ONLY A SITUATION OF APPROXIMATE PARITY BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES IN THE AREA OF RECUTIONS CAN PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR THE MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES WHICH ALL PARTICIPANTS SEEK AS THE OUTCOME TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

31. THERE HAS BEEN SOME DISCUSSION OF WHAT THE CURRENT RELATIONSHIP OF GROUND FORCES IS. WE HAVE PROVIDED FIGURES WHICH DEMONSTRATE THE EASTERN SUPERIORITY IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND THE LARGE EASTERN PREPONDERANCE IN TANKS. THE INEVITABLE CONCLUSION TO BE DRAWN FROM THIS IS THAT GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS ON THE EASTERN SIDE WILL NEED TO BE GREATER IN MAGNITUDE THAN THE ONES ON THE WESTERN SIDE. EQUAL REDUCTIONS, OR EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS, OF THE

TOTAL GROUND FORCES ON EACH SIDE WOULD NOT CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

32. IN MAKING THIS POINT, IT IS NOT OUR PURPOSE TO OBTAIN UNILATERAL WESTERN ADVANTAGE. RATHER, WE SEEK AS THE OUTCOME OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS A SITUATION IN WHICH ADVANTAGES WILL BE EVENLY BALANCED ON THE TWO SIDES, AND NEITHER SIDE WILL HAVE A CLEAR SUPERIORITY OVER THE OTHER. ONLY SUCH AN EQUITABLE OUTCOME COULD PROVIDE FOR LONG-TERM STABILITY.

33. ANOTHER IMPORTANT ISSUE WHICH PARTICIPANTS WILL NEED TO CONSIDER AT THE PROPER TIME IS THE QUESTION OF SAFEGUARDING THE UNDIMINISHED SECURITY OF THE SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS IN

CONNECTION WITH REDUCTIONS. IT WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSES OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS IF, AS A RESULT OF REDUCTIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, TENSIONS WERE TO BE SHIFTED TO THE FLANKS.

34. PARTICIPANTS WILL ALSO NEED TO FOCUS, AT THE PROPER TIME, ON THE ASSOCIATED MEASURES THAT SHOULD BE AGREED IN CONNECTION WITH REDUCTIONS. WE HAVE PUT FORWARD, IN THE PREVIOUS ROUNDS, A SERIES OF CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR THE FIRST PHASE. WE HOPE THAT EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES WILL CONTINUE TO STUDY THESE PROPOSALS AND WILL BE PREPARED TO ADDRESS THESE SUBJECTS IN DETAIL.
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35. MR. CHAIRMAN, THE SUMMER RECESS WILL PROVIDE FURTHER OPPORTUNITY FOR GOVERNMENTS TO CONSIDER THESE QUESTIONS. WE HOPE THAT, WHEN WE RECONVENE IN SEPTEMBER, IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES WILL BE REDUCED FIRST, AND THEN TO MOVE ON TO DETAILED CONSIDERATION OF THE OTHER ISSUES I HAVE MENTIONED. AS I SAID AT THE OUTSET OF MY STATEMENT TODAY, MY COLLEAGUES AND I CONSIDER THAT IT IS HIGH TIME FOR PARTICIPANTS TO BEGIN MAKING PROGRESS ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH HAVE SUCH IMPORTANCE FOR EAST-WEST UNDERSTANDING IN THE VITAL AREA OF CENTRAL EUROPE.

END TEXT. RESOR

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